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Roger Williams
on
Major Butler's Fourth Paper



L o n d o n , 1 6 5 2

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No. 33

**The Fourth Paper presented by
Major Butler, with other papers
edited and published by
Roger Williams
in London**

1652



**With an Introduction and Notes
By Clarence Saunders Brigham**



Providence, Rhode Island

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Introduction

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IN the spring of the year 1652 politics and religion in England were in a most unsettled condition. The House of Commons had scarcely recovered from its tragic victory over King Charles, and was attempting, with the aid of the recently appointed Council of State and guided by the hand of Cromwell, to administer the affairs of the new Commonwealth. To crush the various royalist uprisings required considerable activity and energy. Hardly had the insurrection in Ireland been overcome when the news arrived that Charles, the son of the executed king, was forming an alliance in Scotland. Cromwell and the army hastened thither, routed the Presbyterian forces at Dunbar on September 3, 1650, and exactly one year from that date defeated the royalist army at the battle of Worcester. Though Charles escaped to France, Scotland was thus virtually subdued. But it was a matter of greater difficulty to force the foreign powers to recognize the authority of Parliament. Holland, offended at the passing of the Navigation Act of October, 1651, and resenting any attempt upon her commercial supremacy, had finally brought about a state of war, which, though eventually to result in the defeat of the Dutch, was to tax England's resources and strength greatly during the years 1652 and 1653.

At home the constant jealousy of the power of Parliament, manifested by the army, prevented the harmonious settlement of social and religious differences. Religion in England was still in a state of transition. During the decade previous to 1652 the realm had been visited with no less than three changes in its established church. In 1645 the Episcopal organization imposed by Laud had been displaced by the Presbyterian system, which in turn received but little sympathy from the mass of the English people, who realized that it was the necessary result of the alliance with Scotland. In 1648 the great body of Independents had ridden into power on the shoulders of Cromwell and the army. This party, which now considered itself as voicing the national religion, strenuously opposed the system of a Presbyterian state church, although differing but little from it as to forms of worship. About them and the dethroned Presbyterians clamored numerous minor sects,—Antitrinitarians, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Arminians, Familists, Libertines, Seekers,—all urging their several peculiar doctrines and often committing acts of wild fanaticism that did more to harm the cause of toleration than did the thunderings of the Presbyterian divines.

Amidst all this spiritual chaos, Parliament remained

strangely passive. As the guardian of public morals, it occasionally enacted laws against such crimes as drunkenness, blasphemy or profanation of the Sabbath. If, moreover, any movement arose which seemed likely to interfere with its political ascendancy, such sedition was quickly suppressed. But Parliament was not yet so sure of its own footing that it could settle definitely this momentous question of the nation's religion.

In 1652 the important ecclesiastical questions of the day came particularly into public notice through their connection with a proposed Act for the Propagation of the Gospel. Several bills with titles similar to this one had been prepared during previous years of the Commonwealth period; but they had all referred merely to the maintenance of the clergy, to the "ejection of scandalous ministers," or to some other detail of church administration.¹ The larger question of religious toleration remained undiscussed until early in 1652, when a Latin edition of the Racovian Catechism, containing the so-called heretical doctrines of the Socinians, was published in London. Immediately John Owen, a prominent Independent minister, who possessed considerable influence

¹ There is a detailed list of such acts in the notes at the end of this book.

with Cromwell, together with several other ministers, entered a protest before Parliament. As the record reads in the *Commons Journals* of February 10, 1652: "The House being informed, That divers Ministers were at the Door, they were called in: And Mr. Owen being come to the Bar, accompanied with divers Ministers, after a short Preamble made at the Bar, presented a Petition, with a Paper annexed; being a Copy of a Warrant mentioned in the Petition, together with a printed Book."¹

The House referred this complaint against the heretical book to a committee of forty, with the direct consequence that a few months later the whole edition was ordered to be burned. A more far-reaching result, however, was to follow. At the same time, the House resolved that "a Committee be appointed to confer with these Ministers, whose names are subscribed to the former Petition; or any other Persons: And to consider with them upon such Proposals as shall be offered for the better Propagation of the Gospel; and to report the same, with their Opinion therein, to the House; Mr.

¹ Both this and following quotations from the records of the House of Commons are from the printed edition of the *Commons Journals*, under their proper dates. It should be borne in mind, however, that according to the Julian Calendar the year did not begin until March 25.

Gurdon, Lord General, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Major General Harrison, Mr. Scott, Mr. Rous, Mr. Westrow, Colonel Bennett, Colonel Rich, Alderman Allein, Mr. Holland, Sir William Masham, Sir Arthur Hesilrig, Colonel Sidenham ; or any Five of them."

This committee of fourteen sat from day to day, and in the course of the next few weeks "received many and several Papers from many and several sorts of Men and Consciences." The important ecclesiastical questions that arose for consideration were numerous. What was to be the favored doctrine? To how large an extent was the preaching of contrary doctrine to be allowed? Was the privilege of preaching to be confined only to an authorized and properly ordained ministry? These and many similar questions were the source of constant debate. And more important than all else was the great question of whether the civil magistrate had the right to administer or control in any way the propagation of the gospel.

The chief subject of discussion was a series of fifteen proposals, made by the same petitioning ministers who had complained against the Socinian heresy and who had evidently instigated the appointment of the smaller, but more important, committee.

These fifteen proposals, which were presented to the committee on February 18, 1652, were in favor of a Church partially fostered by the State and allowing toleration within certain limits. It proposed an ecclesiastical organization controlled by two sets of commissioners—one electing candidates to the office of preaching on certain conditions, and the other invested with the power of removing unfit ministers. Dissenters were required to meet in “places publicly known,” and those who opposed the principals of the Christian Religion were not to be suffered to preach or promulgate any doctrine to the contrary. To this document was affixed twenty-seven signatures, chiefly the names of prominent Independent divines.

To the Presbyterians and to many of the Independents, the proposals seemed by far too liberal. But the Tolerationists, the Voluntaries and the many dissenting sects realized that religious liberty was not here recognized as a principle, and speedily assailed the committee with petitions of protest and advice. Among these was a series of four proposals made, probably in the early part of March, 1652, by Major William Butler, a soldier in Cromwell’s army and an extreme Tolerationist.¹ His arguments were

¹ For a detailed account of Butler’s life, see note.

not only in favor of absolute toleration, but opposed directly the theory of even a partial state church. Is it "not against the liberties given by Christ Jesus to his people for the civil powers to assume a judgment in spirituals" was the vital question that he asked.

It was at this junction of affairs that Roger Williams entered into the controversy. He had arrived in London a few weeks before, with the object of procuring the repeal of Coddington's commission as Governor of Rhode Island and relieving the colony from the divisions that beset it. In the midst of a contest where the principles of religious liberty were at stake, he could scarcely stand idle. Professor Masson, in his life of Milton, pertinently asks: "Was he not the man in the whole world who had done most to propagate the theory of Absolute Voluntaryism in Religion or No State-Church of any kind; and might it not be said that the controversy he now found going on was the result in great part of the ideas he had himself sown in the English mind in his former visit, more especially in his famous book of 1644 called *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution*, and that the Voluntaries he now found so numerous in England were his own pupils?"

Williams found Major Butler's four proposals exactly in accordance with his own sentiments, and

realized the importance of placing them more prominently before the eyes of the English public. On March 30, 1652, he published a twenty-three page pamphlet under the title of *The Fourth Paper, Presented by Major Butler*, which is reprinted in the present volume. In this tract Williams printed Butler's proposals, an explanatory testimony of his own concerning them, a letter from Mr. Christopher Goad, written on March 8, in their favor, and also the original fifteen proposals of the ministers. In the preface, he admits "furnishing this fourth paper with many Christian Voluntiers, who chearfully subscribing, left no convenience for my subscription." The subscribers who thus endorsed this argument for toleration were Charles Vane, Colonel Henry Danvers, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Wall and Mr. Turner. The names of Vane and Danvers are well known. The former was a brother of the famous Sir Henry Vane, had served in 1650 as the English agent to Portugal, and upon his return had been thanked by Parliament for his services there. Colonel Henry Danvers was Governor of Stafford. He was a strong Anabaptist and several years before, in 1640, had published a tract on liberty of conscience.¹

¹ For further notices of Vane and Danvers, see notes.

Roger Williams's own testimony to the *Proposals* occupies the larger part of the pamphlet. Taking each proposal in turn, he carefully explains its meaning, "for the more clear and easie discovery of the sence and scope intended," and presents arguments favoring its acceptance by the committee. In discussing the question of the spiritual power of the civil magistrate, he remarks that "in these late years God hath made it evident, that all Civil Magistracie in the World is meerly and essentially Civil; And that the Civil Magistrate can truly take cognisance of nothing, as a Civil Magistrate, but what is proper and within his Civil Sphear." He fervently adds: "Oh that it would please the Father of Spirits to affect the heart of the Parliament with such a merciful sense of the Soul-Bars and Yokes which our Fathers have laid upon the neck of this Nation, and at last to proclaim a true and absolute Soul-freedom to all the people of the Land impartially; so that no person be forced to pray nor pay, otherwise than as his Soul believeth and consenteth."

During the next few weeks, Williams made further contributions to the subject of religious liberty. In April, 1652, he published a tract entitled, *The Hireling Ministry none of Christs, Or, A Discourse touching the Propagating the Gospel of Christ Jesus.*

Humbly Presented to such Pious and Honourable Hands, whom the present Debate thereof concerns. Therein he reasserted his plea for the rights of conscience and urged that ministers should be supported not by legal provision, but by voluntary donations. In the same month he issued a pamphlet, *Experiments of Spiritual Life & Health*, and somewhat later published his lengthy reply to Cotton, *The Bloody Tenent yet More Bloody; by Mr. Cotton's endeavour to wash it white in the Blood of the Lambe.*

The Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel, in the meanwhile, had been giving their earnest attention to the subjects under discussion. Petitions were presented from every quarter. Captain Robert Norwood issued, on March 20, a *Proposall for Propagation of the Gospel, offered to the Parliament*, and an anonymous author presented *Severall Queries now published and propounded, to be considered of by all, especially of those which assume a power of propagating the Gospel, and settling the Ministers thereof in this Nation, most humbly presented to the Parliament.* On March 31, the day after the appearance of Butler's *Fourth Paper*, the petitioning ministers published their fifteen proposals under the title of *The Humble Proposals of Mr. Owen and other ministers who presented the Petition to Parliament, &c.* Printed at London for

Robert Ibbetson, 1652. Asked by the committee to define the "principles of the Christian Religion" in their fourteenth proposal, the ministers had presented a list of fifteen Christian "fundamentals," the public preaching against which was to be illegal. These, however, were not printed until December 2, 1652, when they were issued as *Proposals for the furtherance and Propagation of the Gospell in this nation, as the same were humbly presented to the Honourable Committee of Parliament by divers ministers of the Gospell and others, as also some principals of Christian religion without the belief of which the Scriptures doe plainly and clearly affirm salvation is not to be obtained, which were also presented in explanation of one of the said proposals.*

According to the "fundamentals," no one was to be allowed to promulgate his opinions who denied the doctrine of the Trinity, the incarnation, justification by grace, the necessity of forsaking sin, and the resurrection; who sought to discover God's mind except by the Scriptures; or who forsook and despised the duties of God's worship. Such a narrow attempt at definition of doctrine evidently did not suit the minds of all the committee and did much in the end to wreck the whole scheme. Many of the members, while not believing in extreme tolera-

tion, would have refused to sanction an act that persecuted for so small a deviation in doctrine. Cromwell, says Williams, told one of the committee that he "had rather that Mahometanism were permitted amongst us than that one of God's children should be persecuted." And it was upon the Protector that the Tolerationists must rely if they hoped to gain anything for liberty of conscience. This point Milton realized when he addressed his noble sonnet "To the Lord General Cromwell, May, 1652, on the Proposals of Certain Ministers at the Committee for Propagation of the Gospel :"

"Cromwell, our chief of men, who through a cloud
Not of war only, but detractions rude,
Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,
To peace and truth thy glorious way hast ploughed,
And on the neck of crowned Fortune proud
Hast reared God's trophies, and his work pursued,
While Darwen stream, with blood of Scots imbrued,
And Dunbar field, resounds thy praises loud,
And Worcester's laureate wreath : yet much remains
To conquer still ; Peace hath her victories
No less renowned than War : new foes arise,
Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains.
Help us to save free conscience from the paw
Of hireling wolves, whose Gospel is their maw."

Apparently the meetings of the committee were being held less frequently when the consignment of a new task to them caused Parliament, on May 6, 1652, to order that they should again sit from day to day. On April 29, the subject of tithes had arisen in the House. Some, like Roger Williams, believed in voluntary donations for ministers, while others, though willing that the clergy should be maintained at public expense, objected to tithes as being unequal in their incidence and causing innumerable and unnecessary suits among clerical claimants. The House, therefore, resolved that "it be referred to the Committee appointed to receive Proposals for the better Propagation of the Gospel, to take into speedy Consideration, how a competent and convenient Maintenance for a godly and able Ministry may be settled, in Lieu of Tythes." They also enacted that "Tythes shall be paid as formerly, until such Maintenance be settled." This latter clause, which was carried by a vote of twenty-seven to seventeen, was significant in that it showed the favorable disposition of Parliament toward a settled ministry.

The committee evidently could not make a definite report upon these knotty religious questions. On October 8, 1652, they were "revived" by order of

Parliament, with orders to hold daily sessions. They were unable to render a reply providing a substitute for tithes, and it was not until February 11, 1653, that they presented their report on the proposals for the Propagation of the Gospel. In this they adopted substantially the first twelve proposals of the petitioning ministers, abridging them, however, to eleven. The last three proposals—those concerning the toleration of dissent, the definition of the “principles of Christian religion,” and the suppressing of “judicial astrology”—they omitted, having resolved not to report them. Either a majority of the committee were opposed to the sentiments expressed in these three clauses, as being inimical to the spirit of religious liberty, or else the members thought it unwise to discuss the question of toleration at the same time as the question of a state church establishment. There is nothing in the records to settle the point. The House, however, insisted that the omitted clauses should also be reported, and consequently all of the proposals were read, together with the names of the original subscribers.

On February 25, the debate on the committee’s report began. The great preliminary question as to the power of the civil magistrate in religious affairs—which the committee in its report had assumed as

existing — was first to be disposed of. Upon this the House resolved that “the Magistrate hath Power, in Matters of Religion, for the Propagation of the Gospel;” and thus the principle of individual religious liberty, as Roger Williams and thousands of others understood it, was denied even before the clauses concerning toleration were reached. The House then proceeded to a separate discussion of each proposal. On March 4, March 18, and April 1, respectively, they adopted almost word for word the first three proposals. This was the last action by the so-called Rump Parliament on the subject. On April 20, 1653, its organization was dissolved by the iron hand of Cromwell and the dictatorship was established.

The labors of the Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel thus had no lasting result. The community had so long been accustomed to worshipping according to a religion fostered and controlled by the state, that it was scarcely prepared for the changes proposed by such advanced thinkers as Major Butler or Roger Williams. To the minds of the authorities, toleration was accompanied by too great a probability of public disorder and revolution, and religious liberty was considered as existing only in the brain of an enthusiast. Numerous acts of wild and unrestrained

fanaticism only served to justify this view. The early advocates of religious liberty, moreover, lacked the guiding hand of a great and influential leader. Cromwell, although favoring the cause of toleration, would scarcely have dared to proclaim perfect religious equality. Such a proclamation would have struck at the foundation of state as well as church. It appeared to be impossible to accomplish in the old world that which Roger Williams had already accomplished in the new.

The *Fourth Paper*, which is now reprinted for the first time, was unknown to the biographers of Williams until 1874, when it was found in a volume of seventeenth century pamphlets, purchased in London by Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull. From him it was secured by the John Carter Brown Library. On the fly leaf of the original book, Dr. Trumbull pencilled the following note: "This lost tract of Roger Williams — unknown to any of his biographers — I have been in search of for ten years. A lucky chance brought it to my hands to-day, May 22, 1874.—J. H. T." The only other copy known to be in existence is in the British Museum, where it is catalogued merely under the initials "R. W."

That the pamphlet was written by Roger Wil-

liams there can be no doubt. Professor Masson, writing his life of Milton in 1877, asserted his belief in this fact, and a careful examination of the tract leaves no room for uncertainty. Besides the familiar appearance of the signature, "R. W.," the peculiar method of expressing the thought, and a dozen other earmarks that betray his authorship, he makes express reference in one place to the "great controversie of the Bloody Tenet, between Mr. Cotton and myself," and in a marginal note says: "Of which I have spoken more particularly in the Hireling Ministry."

This reproduction of the *Fourth Paper* completes the list of reprints of the known tracts of Roger Williams. It was Mr. George T. Paine, President of the Rhode Island Historical Society, who first conceived the idea of obtaining fac-simile plates of this rare tract, and it is through his courtesy that these plates are now used. It is most fitting that he who so successfully began the reprinting of Williams's writings in the scholarly volumes of the Narragansett Club should be instrumental in bringing this work of republication to its completion.

CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM.

May 12, 1903.

The Reprint

The Reprint

The Fourth Paper,

Presented by

Maioꝛ Butler,

To the Honourable Committee of
Parliament, for the Propagating the
Gospel of *Christ* JESUS.

Which Paper was humbly owned, and
was, and is attended to be made good

By { Major Butler. } Mr. Jackson.
 { Mr. Charles Vane. } Mr. Vall, And
 { Col. Danvers. } Mr. Turner.

A L S O

A Letter from Mr. *Goad*, to Major
BUTLER, upon occasion of the said
PAPER and PROPOSALS.

Together with

A Testimony to the said fourth Paper,
By way of Explanation upon the four
PROPOSALS of it.

BY R. W.

Unto which is subjoyned the Fifteen Proposals
of the MINISTERS.

London, Printed for *Giles Calvert*, at the Black-spred-Eagle at the
West-end of *Pauls*. M DC LLI.



To the truly Christian Reader.



If all the Angels in Heaven were turned into a grand Committee, to consult upon this high point of Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ, they must needs agree in one unanimous Consent and Vote (as Paul once spake upon the like occasion) Who is sufficient? We are not sufficient for these things.

The Honourable Committee (according to the Parliaments order) hath freely (and with abundance of Christian Civility and gentleness) received many and several Papers from many and several sorts of Men and Consciences.

I acknowledge a most wise providence of God, furnishing this fourth paper with many Christian Voluntiers, who cheerfully subscribing, left no convenience for my subscription: But since the number of Proposals is so increased, that little hopes appears of their Honours Time and Pur-pose (if of Reading, yet hardly) of Examining and debating all of them, I am therefore humbly bold to present this Explication and Testimony, together with the Scriptures at large, for the more clear and easie discovery of the sense and scope intended.

The Stationer was solicitous of gratifying the desire of many with the sight of the Ministers fifteen Proposals. as also of Mr. Goads Letter, and therefore are they both presented The liberty of Prophesying, and the liberty of Trying, and the liberty of presenting unto Trial, are Mercies now vouchsafed to us, of higher value, then if our Streets (like those of Jerusalem to come) were (literally) of pure Gold, or if all our Stones were the richest Djamonds and Rubies.

My humble desire is, to all that fear God, to cry to him to guide by his own spirit, both the Honourable Committee, and the high Court of Parliament, to be jealous of their own Insufficiencies to perceive the height of this businels: the easiness of mistaking, the subtlety of the Serpent (who is not yet bound up from deceiving whole Nations) the Piety and Equity of Soul-freedom, the guilt of this Nation, As to National superstitions, and Will-worships: As to the setting of the spiri-tual Crown of Christ Jesus upon Henry 8. his head, and so ever since, As

to the stopping the breath of the Spirit of Christ Jesus, and the persecuting of the said Lord Jesus in his Witnesses and Servants.

And since I have mentioned that point of persecution, I will end with two excellent late Speeches of his Excellency the Lord General, upon occasion of these Papers. The one before many witnesses, to this purpose. I shall need no Revelation (said that Noble Lord) to discover unto me that man that endeavours to impose upon his Brethren. The other, at a Debate of the Honourable Committee, and in a confluence of many Auditors; When it pleased an Honourable Gentleman of the Committee, zealously to argue against a Laodicean, and lukewarm indifferency in Religion, professing for his part, That he had rather be a Saul than a Gallio. His Excellency with much Christian zeal and affection for his own Conscience, professed also, That he had rather that Mahumetanism were permitted amongst us, than that one of Gods Children should be persecuted.

Such a spirit as it is from God, and the Lamb of God; so is it on like to guard this Nation from the Terrours of Ecclesies, of Pestilence, of Navies, of Armies, of Men and Devils: For the pouring forth of this Spirit, and the Peace and Tranquility of this Nation, humbly prays

**The unworthiest of all the Followers
and Witnesses of Christ Jesus.**

R. W.

Certain Proposals from the Scriptures , humbly
Presented to the Honourable Committee for the Pro-
pagating of the Gospel.

Propos. I.

From Mat. 9. ult. *Pray therefore the Lord of the Harvest , that he would send forth Labourers, &c.*

Mat. 10. 5. 16. *Behold I send you forth as Sheep amongst Wolves &c.*

Act. 4. 19, 20. *But Peter and John said unto them, whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you , more then unto God, judge ye : For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard*

Ephes. 4. 11. *And he gave some Apostles, some Prophets , some Evangelists, and some Pastors and Teachers : for the Work of the Ministry, &c.*

1 Cor. 12. 3. *No man can say that Jesus is the Lord , but by the Holy Spirit, &c.*

Gal. 1. 12. *But I certifie you , that the Gospel that was preached of me, is not after man, for neither received it I of man, neither was I taught: it but by the Revelation of Jesus Christ.*

John 10 11. *Verily I say unto you , He that entresth not in by the door into the Sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a Thief and a Robber : but he that entresth in by the door, is the Shepherd of the sheep.*

James 2. 1. *My brethren, have not the faith of the Lord Jesus , the Lord of glory, with respect of persons.*

1. It is humbly Proposed , Whether Christ Jesus, the Lord of the Harvest , doth not send forth Labourers into his Vineyard, furnishing them by his Spirit, and bearing witness to their Labours, without the Testimony and Reward of men ?

A

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Propos. II.

From Mat. 13. 24. *The Parable of the Tares.* ver. 38. *The Field is the world; the good seed the children of the Kingdom, but the Tares the children of the wicked one.*

Act. 5. 34. to the 40. Gamaliels advice concerning the Apostles.

1 Cor. 11. 19. For there must be also Heresies amongst you, that they which are approved may be made manifest amongst you.

2 Pet. 2. 1. But there were false Prophets amongst them: even so there shall be false Teachers amongst you, who privily shall bring in damnable Heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction. So on to ver 10.

Jude 3. 4. 15. Contend earnestly for the faith which was once delivered to the Saints, for there are certain men crept in &c.

2 Tim. 2. 24, 25, 26. And the servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle towards all men; If God peradventure will give them Repentance, &c.

Luke 9. 49, 50. And John answered and said, Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name, and we forbid him, because he followeth not with us. And Jesus said unto him, Forbid him not, for he that is not against us, is for us.

2. It is humbly Proposed, Whether it be not the Will (or Counsell) of God that there must be Heresies, yea damnable Heresies, that such who are approved may be made manifest? And whether it be not the pleasure of God, that the Judgement and Condemnation of such false Teachers and Hereticks be left to himself?

Pro-

Propos. III.

From Rom. 14. 4. *Who art thou that judgest another mans servant ?*
 1 Cor. 7. 23. *You are bought with a price, be not the servants of men.*

Gal. 1. 16. *I conferred not with flesh and blood.*

Gal. 5. 1. *Stand fast in the liberties wherewith Christ hath made you free.*

Heb. 11. 6. *Without faith it is impossible to please God.*

1 John 4. 1. *Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they be of God.*

Rom. 14. ult. *Whatsoever is not of faith is sin, &c.*

3. It is humbly Proposed, Whether for the Civil powers to assume a Judgement in Spirituals, be not against the Liberties given by Christ Jesus to his people ?

Propos. IV.


From Rom. 11.

4. Whether it be not the duty of the Magistrate to permit the Jews, whose conversion we look for, to live freely and peaceably amongst us ?



Mr. Goads Letter TO Maioꝛ Butler.

Maioꝛ Butler,

 Our *Paper* which you left with me, hath set my thoughts on work about the way of the propagating of the *Gospel*, concerning which, *quot homines tot sententia*; we are neither of *Paul*, nor *Apollo*, nor *Cephas*: we are come into the unity of the *Spirit*, we are come to God the *Iudge* of all, and to *Iesus* the *Mediator* of the new *Covenant*.

(6)

Covenant, we are returned unto the *Archbishop* of our *Souls*, and we cannot go back to mens *Iudgements*, though seeming Pillars, nor give our voice for the use of any *Carnal weapons*; knowing such as are *mighty* through *God* to cast down *strong holds*, and high imaginations, and to wastle with *principalities* and powers, and the Ruler of the darkness of this world, to which all the *power*, *wisdom*, and *righteousness* of man is altogether insufficient, whilst reaching not unto the *Conscience*, where only comes the demonstration of the *Spirit* and power: and if it be said that the *Spirit* goes forth in these, it is answered, that the *Spirit* going forth, dismisseth these, as *Gideon* did his *Souldiers*. Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, *Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit*, when he was to build the *Temple*: it is the *Cross* of *Christ* by which we are saved, and *God* forbid we should rejoyce in any thing save that, by which the *world* is Crucified unto us, even in its wisdom and righteousness, and to undertake to carry the *Cross* by these, is nonsense and contradiction; it is to make it of none effect, which is *weakness* and *foolishness* unto the world, *stronger* and *wiser* then the world. *God* hath made us able *Ministers* of the new Testament, not of the Letter, but of the *Spirit*; and to go forth in any *strength* and *wisdom*, but in the *Spirits*, is to doubt of the *Spirits* truth and power: and if it be asked where this *power* is, we answer, that it hath been long withdrawn, that the man of *Sin* might be revealed: but it will come forth, and is now coming, and we are resolved to be *weak*, and *fools* in *Christ*, till we come forth in him, the *wisdom* of *God*, and the *power* of *God*: to go forth in man, according to the *Proposals* of some unto the *Committee*, is to go forth for *Christ*, against him: The *Spirit* of *God* his presence did let and hinder the

(7)

the revealing of the *man of sin*, as the *light* keeps out the *darkness* : It is his return only that can destroy that *sin* : and All goings forth of man against it, is the going forth of *darkness*, and *sin*, and *Satan*, and so is but a further revealing of the man of sin, whose appearance is in all *deceivableness* of *unrighteousness* in them that perish. Blessed are they who go forth in, and with the Lord, to the propagation of the *Gospel*, pray that it may have free passage, and be glorified : The Causeways that we make for it, obstruct it, that is, not *preparing* the way of the Lord : *Christ* is the *way*, the *truth*, and the *life* : let me have no *God*, no *Christ*, nor *Truth* that cannot defend themselves and me, or deliver themselves and me into *freedom* : having upon *design* suffered bonds to be put upon them, and therefore let *error*, *sin*, and *hell*, and *darkness* come forth in their power, it is the will of *God* they should do so, and that *Pharaoh* should rise unto his full greatness, that he may appear to be above him, and get himself honour upon him. *Antichrist* is now getting up upon his last legs, whose feet are *Iron* and *Clay*, there is life no where but in his *stump*, which is not enough to quicken him thoroughly in this his last image and *form*, in which he is coming forth : how soon was he thrown down in his last *appearance* and rising among us : even before he could *bite*, his *teeth* were *broken* : *God* smote him on the *Cheek bone* : before the *Thorns* were grown hard to prick, the *fire* took hold of them, and *God* is finishing the work apace, and cutting it short in righteousness, even his utter *consumption* and *destruction* by the *brightness* of his *coming* . There is no cause to fear for the tail of this smoking firebrand, for the *fire* of the *Lord* upon it is not quenched, *God* will bear swift witness against this *Sorcery*, for so are all the dealings of

of

(10)

Lord will witness unto me, not *secretly* to them ; which he doth already but *openly*, for which work he is at the door. And so wishing you the presence of the Lord with you, I rest, waiting with you for his Kingdome, which is not of this world.

March 8. 1651.

Yours

CHRISTOPHER GOAD.

*A Testimony to the 4th. Paper presented
by Major BUTLER to the
Honorable Committee for
Propagating the Gospel.*

IT is my humble Petition to the *God* of Heaven, to vouchsafe that Honourable *Committee* Time and Hearts to examine the *Scriptures* alleaged in that Paper: And at present, that they may please to weigh (with those double *weights* of the *Sanctuary*) this humble *Explication* of the Four *Proposals*.

First, As to the first *Head*, viz. of *Christ Jesus* sending forth of his own *Messengers*: I humbly pray it may be remembred, that there is a twofold *Ministry* of *Christ Jesus*.

1. The one of *Pastors* and *Teachers*, feeding the *Flocks* already *Christian* and *Converted*. Ephes. 4 11.
The twofold
Ministry of
Christ Jesus.

2. The other of *Messengers* or *Apostles*, sent forth to *convert* and beget to *Christ*. Of this sort I humbly conceive is the *Sending* now in debate before you: and of this sort is that *Sending* and *Questioning* so large and punctual (*Rom. 10.*). *How can they Preach, except* Εν μὲν ἀποστολῇ, except they be Apostliz'd, or Sent? Upon which Distinction I humbly offer three things to be necessarily supposed. First, *Apostolical Gifts* and *Abilities* in the Men *sent*. Secondly, a greater *spiritual power* in the *Senders*,

Senders, according to that Rule ; *Greater is the Sender than the Sent*. Thirdly, it supposes an *unconverted estate* in the *People* to whom such *Messengers* are sent to preach and baptize. Which are three such *Knots*, that none that I know of professing *Christ Jesus*, these many hundred years, have been able to untie, and to prove such a *Ministry* extant; otherwise then by some (seeming) *Prudential Inventions*, or the Power of the *Sword*. Yet,

*Christ Jesus
his first im-
mediate send-
ing.*

Secondly, *Christ Jesus* did immediately send forth his *Messengers* (*Legatos à Latere*) his *LXX*. *Luc. 10.* his *XII*, First to the *Jews*, *Mat. 10.* afterwards to all *Nations*, *Mar. 16.* *Christ Jesus* did immediately send forth by his *Spirit*, and mediately by the *Church* at *Antioch*, *Act. 13.* He immediately stirr'd up *Paul* and *Apollus*, &c. not only without *Civil*, but also without *Spiritual* and *Church* power. Yea since the *Apostasy* and *Rising* of *Antichrist*, He hath in all *Ages* stirr'd up his *Prophets* to witness (in a poor and mournful *sackcloth*) *Rev. 10. & 11. & 14* Chapters. The *Waldenses*, the *Wicklaviſts*, the *Hussites*, the *Lutherans*, the *Calvinists*, &c.

*His sending
of Prophets
all the Reign
of Antichrist.*

These Protestant *Witnesses* could never clear up their *Functions* or *Ministeries* (as *Bishops* or *Presbyters*) yet doubtless hath *Christ Jesus* endowed them with *Prophetical Gifts* of *Translating* and *Expounding* the *Scriptures*. I say, they were as *Prophets* immediately stirr'd up by *Christ Jesus*; who doubtless hath now stirred up more then ever were in this *Nation*, men of *Prophetical Gifts* and *Spirits*, [*Gentlemen*, *Lawyers*, *Physicians*, *Souldiers*, *Tradesmen*] some adorned with *Humane Learning*, others only with the *Scriptures*. And doubtless such is his

his faithfulness and love to his Chosen, that he will yet ^{* of which I} stir up his Witnesses and Prophets, yea and in his time ^{have spoken} Apostles and Messengers to the Nations of the World, ^{more particu-} whose ^{larly in the} Gifts, Calling, Work and Wages shall all be from ^{Hireling-} Himself. ^{Ministry &c.}

Lastly, as to those Terms of *Testimony*, or *Reward* of Men, I am far from obstructing any countenance or encouragement to any whom *Christ Jesus* stirs up. This only I say, 1. It seems to be an *ungospel* or *unchristian* task put upon the *Civil State*, viz. To grant *Licences* (as the *Bishops*) for Preaching, &c.

2. It is not hard to guess, That were it not for the ^{more it not for} Magistrates ^{the Magi-} Pay and ^{strates sword} Sword, very few would be found ^{and money, but} to solicit his *Test* or *Testimony*. But doubtless such ^{Test or testi-} Preachers, who (either *above* or *under* board) make a ^{mony would} Bargain for so much, or so much, without which they ^{be little re-} will not be sent; I humbly conceive they can never ^{garded.} be said to be sent by *Christ Jesus*, although all the *Civil Powers* in the World should subscribe to their *Commissions* and *Sendings*.

To the second Head, of Permitting *False teachers* and *Hereticks*: I am humbly confident, that (from the *Scriptures* allcaded) it will appear to be the *will of God*, that *Christians* and *Antichristians*, the *Wheat* and the *Tares*, should be permitted to dwell, to trade, to live and die in the *common Field* of the World together.

2. Upon a due survey it will be found, that the *Lord Jesus Christ* himself, and his *Servants*, have most commonly been accounted, and have suffered as the greatest *Deceivers*, *Seducers*, *Hereticks* and *Blasphemers* in the World.

3. The

3. The *Body* of this *Nation*, and of all *Nations* professing *Christianity*, professing to know *Christ Jesus* in word, and in works denying him, cannot but be acknowledged to live and die (if without Repentance) in constant *real* and *practical Denyings* and *Blasphemings* of *Christ Jesus*.

*Christ Jesus
his course
with Blasphemers.*

4. *Christ Jesus* hath not been without Care against *Hereticks* and *Blasphemers* :

First, by judging them that are within among the *Saints* : therefore (1 *Tim.* 1.) *Paul* delivered *Hymeneus* and *Alexander* unto *Sathan*, that they may learn not to *BlaspHEME*.

Secondly, by judging them without : First, sometimes by horrible *judgments* in this life ; sometime by subduing them by his *Spirit*, as *Paul* from his *persecuting* and *blasphemous* courses.

Thirdly, As for the wilfully and finally *obstinate*, they are ordained (saith *Peter* and *Jude*) to condemnation ; And their *judgment* and *damnation* sleepeth not.

The full debate of this point, may be seen in that great Controversie of the Bloody Tinct, between M^r. Cotton and my self.

To the third *Head*, concerning the *Civil Magistrates* Commission in *Spirituals*, I humbly conceive,

1. That in these late years *G O D* hath made it evident, that all *Civil Magistrate* in the World is meerey and essentially *Civil* ; And that the *Civil Magistrate* can truly take cognisance of nothing, as a *Civil Magistrate*, but what is proper and within his *Civil Sphear*. The *Magistrate*, if a *Saint*, hath a *Spiritual* power, and so have all *Saints* ; and he that partakes more of *Christ's Spirit*, hath more of *Christ's Power*, whatever his outward condition be.

2. By

2. By the last Will and Testament of *Christ Jesus*, we find not the least title of *Commission* to the *Civil Magistrate* (as *Civil*) to judge and act in the matters of his *Spiritual Kingdom*.

3. That great pretence from the Land of *Canaan*, and the *Kings* of *Israel* and *Judah*, hath been in these late years proved but weak and sandie, and the *Lord Jesus Christ* himself to be the *Antitype* of all those *Figures*, the *King* and *Head* of all the *Israel of God*, Forming, Reforming his people, &c.

Hence, although it be the Duty of *Kings, Queens, The Saints* *Magistrates* to be nursing Fathers and Mothers to the *Saints*: Although it be the *Saints* Duty to pray for *Magistrates* ^{whatever the} that they may live *peaceably* under them in all *Godliness* and *Honesty*, *Jer. 29.* and *1. Tim. 2.* Yet suppose the *Magistrates* to be never so *ungodly, idolatrous, blasphemous, bloody*, (as they were in the first 300 years after *Christ*) yet *Christ Jesus* failed not, nor wil, to preserve his *Saints* in the *Power* and *Spirit* of true *Christianity* and *Godliness*: And contrarily, the *Saints* never discovered so bright an Image of *Christ Jesus* since, in those times wherein *Constantine* and so many after him have used and drawn their *Civil* swords in *Spiritual* causes. ^{the Times.}

Our *Fathers* before us in *England*, though famous for *Civil Laws*, and *Wars*, and *Victories*, yet have they but trod the Round, and walked in a Circle; *plant* and *pluck up*, *plant* and *pluck up*; as we their Children do: and all for want of *Commissions* from *Christ Jesus*, and his *Instructions* and *Promises* in such a Work. The *Parliament* established King *Henry* the 8. *Head* of the *Church*: this *Supremacy* hath continued in four *Protestants*.

*The bickerings
of the Clergy
from H. 8. his
time, all re-
lone for the
Civil sword.*

stant Princes since. Yet first, what Disagreements about the *Title*? For while the *Clergy* have preached the *Jus Divinum* of the Princes Authority in *Spirituals*, after the pattern of the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*; the truth is, that *Parliaments* and *People* since have pleaded, That *Princes* could not receive but what the *Parliaments* gave them, and the *Parliaments* could not give them but what the *People* gave the *Parliament* their *Representative*; which could not possibly be a *Spiritual* and *Soul-power*.

Secondly, the *Work* hath never prospered: but succeeding *Times*, more enlightened by *Christ Iesus*, have still been *breaking down* and *pulling up*. For instance: The *Protestant Bishops* with their *English Common Prayer*, supplanted the *Popish Bishops* and their *Latine Masse*: The *Presbyterians* and their *Scotch Directories*, after some *Disputes*, at last rout the *Protestant Bishops* and their *Common Prayers*: Now the *Parliament* being graciously pleased to remind the *Providence* of the most *High*, in using *Instruments* of *various Consciences* in their late *Service*, cannot but expect to be solicited by some of these *Consciences*, and to be zealously told, that *Christian Kings* and *Magistrates* succeed the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, in the power of *Establishing Religion*, and *Reforming* it, of *Defining Doctrines*, especially *Fundamentals*; of *Punishing* the contrary as *Hereticks* and *Blasphemers*; of *Granting Licences* and *Authority* to *Preachers*, of *seeing* their *Wages* paid them, &c. And therefore that they are bound, as they will answer it to *God*, to *Christ*, to their own *souls*, and the *souls* of others, to settle *Religion*, to *Establish* something, &c. But,

My

My humble Prayer shall be to Him that is *only wise*, so to guide this Renowned *Parliament*, that they may see and shun the Rocks on which our *Fathers* (as touching a *State-Religion*) both *Papist* and *Protestant* have made most woful shipwrack. And that they may be pleased to remember, that be the *Plants* never so *new*, so *fair*, so *hopeful*; yet while *National*, while *State-plants*, and *inforced*, our Spiritual Lord the *Lord Iesus* will sooner or later *eradicate* and pluck them up, untill at last the *work* and *glory* be given to Himself, to work freely and in his own way, by the free *Breathings* of his most *powerfull Spirit*, in the *mouths* and *hearts* of such by whom and in whom he freely pleaseth.

Hence, oh that it would please the *Father of Spirits* to affect the heart of the *Parliament* with such a merciful sense of the *Soul-Bars* and *Tokes* which our *Fathers* have laid upon the *neck* of this *Nation*, and at last to proclaim a true and absolute *Soul-freedom* to all the people of the Land impartially, so that no person be forced to *pray* nor *pay*, otherwise then as his *Soul* believeth and consenteth. This *Act*, as I believe it to be the absolute will of *God*, as to this and all the oppressed Nations of the World; so will this most *prudent State* find it to be a principal Expedient for two great ends: First, the *easing* and *sweetening* the *minds* of the people of this Nation, who have so long cried out of *Burthens*, &c. Secondly, the preventing all the *Clergical Designs* of one sort or another, when the whole people of the Nation shall be engaged as one man to maintain that *Power*, that hath from *Heaven* set them free from so great and so long continued *Slavery*.

*Soul freedom
of mighty consequence
to this Nation.*

Such a Service for *God* and the *Nation*, cannot but be

attended with many *Objections* : To all which (as also for some *mercifull* and *humane consideration* (at least for a season) to such of the *Clergie*, whom any *Town* or *people* of the Nation shall not freely close with in *Worship* and *Maintenance*) the *wisdome* of the most *High* is infinitely able to direct the *Commonwealths High-Senate* of *Parliament* ; and doubtless will , if they humbly see their want, and beg supply from him.

Upon the *Scriptures*, and the fourth *Head*, as touching the *J E W S* : I humbly conceive it to be the Duty of the *Civil Magistrate* to break down that superstitious *wall of separation* (as to Civil things) between us *Gentiles* and the *Jews*, and freely (without their asking) to make way for their free and peaceable Habitation amongst us. And the rather, because that People (however for a season under a most terrible *Eclipse*) yet,

*Arguments
for permission
of the Jews.*

1. The holy Scripture saith, that they are a *Beloved people*, and *beloved* (as we sometimes love *unworthy children*) for their *Fathers* sake.

2. They are a *people* above all the *peoples* and *Nations* in the World, under most gracious and express Promises.

3. We *Gentiles* by their *fall* have had the occasion of our *rising* to the blessed and joyful Knowledge of a *Saviour*.

4. Their *rising* again to own and imbrace *Christ Jesus*, is promised to be as *life* from the *dead*, not only to themselves, but as to the propagating of *Christ Jesus* to other peoples.

5. Out of some kind of sense of these things, we pretend to *look*, and *long*, and *pray* for their *Return* and *Calling*.

6. As

6. As other *Nations*, so this especially, and the *Kings* thereof, have had just cause to fear, that the *unchristian* *oppressions*, *incivilities*, and *inhumanities* of this *Nation* against the *Jews*, have cried to *Heaven* against this *Nation* and the *Kings* and *Princes* of it.

The Guilt of
England and
the Kings
of it, as to the
Jews.

What horrible *oppressions* and horrible *slaughters* have the *Jews* suffered from the *Kings* and peoples of this *Nation*, in the Reigns of *Henry 2. K. Iohn, Richard 1. and Edward 1.* Concerning which not only we, but the *Jews* themselves keep *Chronicles*?

For the removing of which *guilt*, and the pacifying of the *wrath* of the most *Highb* against this *Nation*, and for the furthering of that great end of propagating the *Gospel* of *Christ Iesus*; It is humbly conceived to be a great and weighty *Duty* which lies upon this *State*, to provide (on the *Jews* account) some gracious *Expedients* for such holy and truly *Christian* Ends.

Lastly, I humbly crave leave to say, That I am not without thoughts of many *Objections*, and cannot without *horror* think of the *Jews* killing of the *Lord Iesus*; of their *curse*ing themselves and their *posterity*; of the *wrath* of *God* upon them; of their denying the *Fundamentals* of all our *Christian Worship*; of some *crimes* alleaged for which they have been so afflicted by this *Nation*; of their known *Industry* of enriching themselves in all places where they come. But I dare not prejudice the high *wisdom* and *experience* of the *State*, abundantly rich and able to provide answerable *Expedients*, if once it please the most *Highb* to affect their *Honorable* breasts with the *piety* and *equity*, the *duty* and *necessity* of so great a *Work*.

Objections
against the
Jews.

R. VV.

The humble Proposals of the Ministers

Because many have earnestly desired a sight of the Ministers Proposals, they are therefore here subjoynd:

who presented the *Petition* to the Parliament, *Feb. 11.* and other Persons, for the Furtherance and Propagation of the Gospel in this Nation: wherein they having had equal Respect to all Persons fearing God, though of differing judgments, do hope also that they will tend to Union and Peace.

1. **T**hat Persons of Godliness and Gifts, in the Universities and elsewhere, though not Ordained, may be admitted to preach the Gospel, being approved when they are called thereunto.
2. That no person shall be admitted to Trial and Approbation, unless he bring a Testimonial of his Piety and Soundness in the Faith, under the hands of six Godly Ministers and Christians gathered together for that end and purpose, and whom he is personally known; of which number two at the least to be Ministers.
3. That a certain number of persons, Ministers and others of Eminencie, and known Ability and Godliness, be appointed to sit in every County, to examine, judge and approve all such persons, as being to preach the Gospel, have received Testimony as above. And in case there shall not be found a competent number of such persons in the same County, that others of one or more neighbour Counties be adjoynd to them.
4. That care be taken for the removing the Residue of the Ministers who are Ignorant, Scandalous, Nonresident, or Disturbers of the Publike peace: and of all Schoolmasters who shall be found Popish, scandalous, or disaffected to the Government of the Commonwealth.

5. That

5. *That to this end, a Number of persons, Ministers and others of eminent piety, zeal, faithfulness, ability and prudence, be appointed by Authority of Parliament to go through the Nation, to enquire after, examine, judge of, and eject all such persons as shall be found unfit for the Ministry, or teaching of Schools, being such as above described.*

6. *That for the expediting this work, these persons may be assigned in several Companies or Committees, to the six Circuits of the Nation, to reside in each of the Counties for such a convenient space of time as shall be requisite, untill the work be done : And calling to their Assistance in their respective Circuits such Godly and able Ministers and others in each of the Counties where they shall reside, to assist them in this work, as they shall think fit.*

7. *That these persons so sent and Commissioned, may be empower'd, before they shall depart out of each County, to return and to represent unto the Parliament the Names of fit and sufficient persons, Ministers & others to be appointed and approved of, such as shall be called to preach the Gospel in such Counties : And in the mean time, the persons so Commissioned as aforesaid, shall have power while they reside in each County, to examine, judge and approve of such persons, as having a Call to preach the Gospel in such Counties, shall upon such Testimonial as aforesaid, offer themselves to such Examination.*

8. *That it be proposed, that the Parliament be pleased to take some speedy and effectual course, either by empowering the persons in the several Counties to be appointed for Trial and Approbation of such persons as shall be called to preach the Gospel there : Or in such other way as they shall think fit, for the uniting and dividing of Parishes in the several Counties & Cities within this Commonwealth,*

in reference to the preaching of the Gospel there, saving the Civil rights and priviledges of each Parish.

9. *That all Ministers so sent forth and established, be enjoyned and required to attend the solemn Worship of God, in Prayer, Reading and Preaching the Word, Catechising, and Expounding the Scriptures, as occasion shall require, visiting the sick, and instructing from house to house; residing amongst the people to whom they are sent, and using all care and diligence by all ways and means to win souls unto Christ.*

10. *That it is desired, that no persons be required to receive the Sacrament, further then their Light shall lead them unto. Nor no person sent forth to preach, and already placed, or which shall be placed in any Parish within this Nation, be compelled to administer the Sacrament to any, but such as he shall approve of, as fit for the same.*

11. *That a Law may be provided, that all persons whatsoever within this Nation be required to attend to the publique Preaching of the Gospel, every Lords Day, in places commonly allowed, and usually called Churches, except such persons as through scruple of Conscience do abstain from those Assemblies.*

12. *That whereas divers persons are unsatisfied to come to the publique places of hearing the Word, upon this Account, that those places were Dedicated and Consecrated: That the Parliament will be pleased to declare, that such places are made use of and continued only for the better convenience of persons meeting for the publique Worship of God, and upon no other consideration.*

13. *That all persons dissenting from the Doctrine and Way of Worship owned by the State, or consenting therunto, and yet not having advantage or opportunity of some*

some of the like Meeting-places, commonly called Churches, be required to meet (if they have any constant meetings) in places publickly known, and to give notice to some Magistrate of such their place of ordinary meetings.

14. *That this Honorable Committee be desired to propose to the Parliament, That such who do not receive, but oppose those * Principles of Christian Religion, without ac-*
knowledge whereof the Scriptures do clearly and plainly affirm that Salvation is not to be obtained; as those formerly
complained of by the Ministers; may not be suffered to preach
or promulgate any thing in opposition unto such Principles.

15. *And further, That the Parliament be humbly de-*
sired to take some speedy and effectual course for the utter
suppressing of that Abominable Cheat of Judicial Astro-
logic, whereby the minds of Multitudes are corrupted, and
turned aside from depending upon the Providence of God,
to put their Trust in the Lyes of Men and Delusions of
Sathan.

** Upon occa-
sion of which
motion, the
Ministers
were desired
to instance.
who therefore
presented 18
Fundamen-
tals, the Copy
whereof is not
yet come to my
hand.*

Upon this new Project of these Fifteen *Proposals*, and Fifteen *Fundamentals*: I do humbly beg of the *Father of Spirits*, that He will either graciously please to stir up the Hearts of these Worthy Men to put in some *Christian Retraction*; or else the Hearts of some of his Faithful Witnesses (against such *Graven Images*) to present some faithful and truly *Christian Observations*.

F I N I S.

Notes

Summary of Authorities
1652-1653

THE original authorities for the various statements made in the introduction are here summarized in a note. The action of the House, on February 10, 1652, regarding the Ministers' Petition, is in *Commons Journals*, vii: 86. The fifteen Proposals were presented to the Committee on February 18, as is shown in the final report in *Commons Journals*, vii: 259. The twenty-seven signatures affixed to the Proposals are printed also in Shaw, *History of the English Church*, ii: 84. Major Butler's proposals must have been written early in March, as Christopher Goad acknowledges the receipt of them on March 8 (see the *Fourth Paper*, p. 10). Roger Williams's *Fourth Paper*, containing the Minister's Proposals, was published on March 30, according to the date upon the Thomason copy, in the British Museum (Shaw, *English Church*, ii: 81). The Ministers' own edition of their Proposals was issued on the following day, March 31, according to the Thomason copy (Masson, *Life of Milton*, iv: 392). For the publication of Norwood's *Proposall* and the *Severall Queries*, see the *British Museum Catalogue* and Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, ii: 31.

The action of the House, April 29, 1652, upon the question of tithes, is in *Commons Journals*, vii: 128, while the orders of May 6 and October 8, reviving the Committee on the Gospel, are in *idem*, vii: 130, 190. The Proposals and "fundamentals" as published in the *Proposals for the furtherance and Propagation of the Gospel*, were issued on December 2 (*British Museum Catalogue*, Shaw, *English Church*, ii: 81). The final report of the Committee, of February 11, 1653, is in *Commons Journals*, vii: 258-59, and the proceedings following on February 25, March 4, March 18 and April 1, are in *idem*, vii: 262, 264, 269, 274.

Numerous Minor Sects

Introduction, page viii



The popular conception of some of the innumerable sects which were clamoring for attention at this time is shown by the above facsimile of the woodcut on the title page of John Graunt's *Truth's Victory Against Heresie: All sorts comprehended under these ten mentioned: 1. Papists, 2. Familists, 3. Arrians, 4. Arminians, 5. Anabaptists, 6. Separatists, 7. Antinomists, 8. Monarchists, 9. Millenarists, 10. Independents. As also a Description of the Truth, the Church of Christ.* Printed in London in 1645.

*Previous Acts for the Propagation
of the Gospel*

As early as October 30, 1646, the Commons ordered that an Ordinance for Spreading the Gospel should be brought in (*Commons Journals*, iv: 710). But since this involved the larger and unsettled question of the maintenance of the clergy, the motion had no immediate result. The subject remained, however, a source of futile discussion and received frequent reference under such titles as a Bill for the Better Advancement of the Preaching of God's Word, the Committee for Preaching the Gospel, the Bill for the Advancement of the Gospel in England, and the like (see *idem*, v: 327, 443; vi: 335, 352, 365, etc.). On July 27, 1649, moreover, an act was passed for the promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England, the special object of which was the spreading of Christianity to the Indians (*idem*, vi: 271). So also, on February 22, 1650, an Act for the better Propagation and Preaching the Gospel in Wales was passed and a similar act for the four northern counties of England on March 1 (*idem*, vi: 369, 374). But the intention of these latter acts was merely to encourage what might be called home missions.

On June 7, 1650, a committee of twenty-four was appointed to "have Power to present a general Bill for Advancement of the Gospel in all Parts of this Commonwealth" (*idem*, vi: 420), and on July 19, it was ordered that a "General Bill for settling Preaching Ministers, for the better Propagation of the Gospel throughout the Nation, be brought in" (*idem*, vi: 443). As nothing came of this motion, the House resolved, on September 13, that "it be referred to the Committee, to whom the Act touching tender Consciences is committed, to bring in a Bill for propagating the Gospel through the whole Nation, and also for ejecting scandalous Ministers" (*idem*, vi: 468). Again there was no result, and on March 12, 1651, the earlier committee was "revived" (*idem*, vi: 548). On May 23, the act was finally brought in, read the first and second times and committed to the Committee of Plundered Ministers. It was further ordered that "all that come have Voices, as to this Bill: And Mr. Millington and Mr. Lechmere have Care of it: And that the Members of the House do bring in, to that Committee, the Names of Persons to be Trustees in the respective Counties for which they serve" (*idem*, vi: 576, 578). From the wording of this latter clause, it would seem that the act referred merely to the maintenance of the

clergy. On October 15, the Committee of Plundered Ministers reported amendments, which were twice read, and the entire bill was "committed to a grand Committee of the whole House" (*idem*, vii: 23, 26, 28). But the House never sat upon the question, perhaps because the members were too much occupied with the important matter of fixing a date for their future dissolution.

The subject of the Propagation of the Gospel did not again come up for discussion until the House was importuned by the Petitioning Ministers, on February 10, 1652.

Major Butler

Major William Butler, or Boteler, was a soldier in Cromwell's army, who seems to have taken as active an interest in religious controversy as in warfare. As early as July 5, 1648, Parliament ordered that Captain William Butler should raise a company of Horse Volunteers for securing the County of Northampton (*Commons Journals*, v: 625). On December 12, of the same year, the Commons ordered that the troop of horse in Northamptonshire should be continued under his command as Major (Whitelock, *Memorials*, p. 361), and there are occasional later references to his army service in the proceedings of the Council of State and other official records. Before a General Council of Army Officers, on January 10, 1649, he made a strong plea for religious toleration, saying: "Truth and light and knowledge have still gone under the name of errors and heresies, and still they have put these Esau's garments upon Jacob's back" (*Clarke Papers*, ii: 173, Camden Society). During 1653 and 1654, he is often referred to as a justice of the peace in Northamptonshire (*Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1653-54*, p. 171; 1654, pp. 67, 89). In March, 1655, he appears, with half a cavalry regiment under his orders, march-

ing to Salisbury in pursuit of royalist insurgents (Thurloe, *State Papers*, iii: 247); and in October he received the appointment of major-general of the shires of Northampton, Bedford, Rutland and Huntingdon (*Cal. State Papers*, 1655, p. 379). While in this position, he wrote frequently during 1655 and 1656 to Thurloe, Secretary of the Council, concerning such topics as the imprisonment of vagrants, the confiscation of estates and the reforming of the militia (Thurloe, *State Papers*, iv: 156 *et passim*). On December 19, 1655, he was listed among "those now in commission who have all along given the power under the Beast, and have fought with the Lamb, and to this day think they do God service in imprisoning His servants." But on the same day, his act releasing some imprisoned Quakers drew from Parliament a letter signifying Cromwell's pleasure (*Cal. State Papers*, 1655-56, p. 64).

Butler was chosen a member of Cromwell's second Parliament from Northamptonshire, in September, 1656 (Willis, *Notitia Parliamentaria*, iii: 276), and on November 6, 1657, he is mentioned as a commissioner appointed by the Court of Exchequer to ascertain the value of lands, moneys and estates in Northamptonshire (*Cal. of the Comm. for Compounding*,

1643-60, i: 744). Upon the death of the Protector, he became a supporter of Richard Cromwell's government. The severity of certain of his proceedings as Commissioner of the Peace was a source of occasional complaint and on April 12, 1659, his action in detaining lands from an injured claimant was declared by Parliament to be unjust and illegal. There was a lengthy debate on the question of his punishment, those who were jealous of the power of the Army being eager to disable him from further military service. But Sir Henry Vane, Sir Anthony Morgan and several others opposed such decided action and Secretary Thurloe remarked: "To disable him from all employment is the highest, next to life, and you do this unheard. I understand it is for executing his Highness's commands; through zeal for your safety . . . Major-general Boteler got no profit by it. He has served you faithfully and honestly and valiantly. I desire that he may be heard before you pass this severe sentence upon him." It was finally resolved that "the Lords Keepers of the Great Seal do put Major-General Boteler out of the Commission of the Peace," and a committee was appointed to draw up an impeachment against him (*Commons Journals*, vii: 636; Burton's *Diary*, iv: 403-412, 429; Clarendon, *State Papers*, iii: 453).

On July 4, 1659, he was proposed by Sir Arthur Hesilrig for the office of Quartermaster General of the Army. But a Paper entitled "A short Relation of the unjust and arbitrary Dealing of William Butler, who was one of the late Major-Generals for Four Counties, toward William Lovell of Hardington in the County of Northampton," was read before the House and Butler was not appointed (*Commons Journals*, vii: 704; *Cal. State Papers, 1658-59*, p. 384). He still possessed his office of major-general, however, for in August, 1659, he was instructed to take precautions toward suppressing a possible insurrection and also to seize the Earl of Northampton, who was suspected of plotting in behalf of Charles (*Cal. State Papers, 1659-60*, pp. 83, 112).

Upon the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, Butler was necessarily numbered among the "late offenders." But the new Parliament was not disposed to be too harsh, and prepared a general Bill of Oblivion pardoning all except those who had had a part in the King's death. They decided, however, to select twenty of the leaders in the recent troubles, who were to be visited with various penalties and were to gain none of the advantages of the Pardon. It was among these twenty that it was proposed to

include Butler. In the proceedings of the King's Council, on June 15, 1660, it is recorded that "Major Butler, a commissioner at Oxford and one that sate on several highe Courts of justice, agent for Sir H. Vane, is now upon the lief guard, which desires to have him committed" (Ranke, *History of England*, v: 523). In the House of Commons, on the same date, when the question came up for settlement, Butler escaped being included among the twenty by a vote of 160 to 131 (*Commons Journals*, viii: 64).

He was little disposed, however, to conform in every way to the acts of the restored government and there is occasional unfavorable reference to him in the records from 1661 to 1663. Finally, in August, 1663, the Lord General ordered that he should be sent to the Tower, as one who had "exercised all imaginable afflictions on the King's subjects in Northamptonshire" (*Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1664-65*, p. 538). From his place of imprisonment, he writes frequently to David Walter of the King's Bedchamber, to Lord Arlington and others concerning his condition. He makes reference to his "distracted family" (*idem, 1665-66*, p. 2, October 3, 1665), mentions the injury done to his present profession of the law (*idem*, p. 33, October 28, 1665),

prays for his release (*idem*, p. 42, November 4, 1665), says that "his family's livelihood depends on his liberty," and that he "cannot in all things conform to the Church of England, but can show that his non-conformity is from conscience, not faction . . . is undone in law practice and reputation, and his estate will not now pay his debts by £100" (*idem*, p. 438, June 13, 1666). On November 2, 1666, his name appears in a list of thirty-eight prisoners confined in the Tower (*idem*, 1666-67, p. 235). He was probably released soon afterwards, although no reference to the fact appears in the records of Parliament. His ardor in voicing his religious views, however, could not be quenched, for as late as May 23, 1670, Sir John Robinson wrote to Williamson regarding the carrying out of the Act against Conventicles, saying: "The greatest person among the meeters is Major General Butler" (*idem*, 1670, p. 233).

Charles Vane

Charles Vane was a well known and quite an important personage among the followers of Cromwell. He was the fourth son of the elder Henry Vane and brother of the famous Sir Harry. Little is known of his early life except that he matriculated from Magdalen College, Oxford, March 17, 1637 (*Dict. National Biography*, lviii: 116). At the time when the infant commonwealth was scarcely more than on speaking terms with the foreign powers and was attempting to establish diplomatic intercourse, Vane volunteered to accept the position of English agent to Portugal. He was appointed by the Council of State, January 29, 1650, on a salary amounting to £800 a year (*Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1649-50*, p. 496). It was a mission attended with considerable danger. Dr. Dorislaus had been assassinated at the Hague during the preceding May and in June following Vane's appointment, Anthony Ascham, the Spanish agent, was stabbed in an inn at Madrid.

Vane's mission was chiefly to remonstrate with the Portuguese King for harboring Prince Rupert's royalist fleet, which was preying upon English commerce. Armed with an official letter of introduction written by John Milton, who then had the post of

Latin Secretary (Masson, *Life of Milton*, iv: 161), he proceeded to Lisbon. The King, however, could not perceive the value of allying himself with the new Commonwealth and after several weeks of fruitless negotiation (see Vane's letters in Thurloe, *State Papers*, i: 140, 141, 145), Vane was recalled, June 21, 1650 (*Cal. State Papers, 1650*, p. 212). On July 4, Parliament ordered that he be "thanked for the good service done at Lisbon" (*idem*, p. 231). Force now took the place of diplomacy. The English admiral, Blake, began to make severe inroads on Portuguese commerce and in December completely defeated Rupert's fleet. The Portuguese King was now ready to make some sort of a treaty with the English and in December, 1650, despatched an envoy to London. At all the negotiations and committee meetings of the next few months Vane's presence was requested (Masson's *Life of Milton*, iv: 231). With the completion of the Portuguese Treaty in July, 1654, his official duties apparently ceased and we find no further record of him during the Commonwealth period.

Colonel Danvers

Henry Danvers, or D'Anvers, during the period of the Commonwealth was a colonel in the Parliamentary army and also a justice of the peace and governor of Stafford. He was a strong anabaptist and in 1640 had published a tract entitled *Certain Queries concerning Liberty of Conscience*. On March 18, 1655, three years after the appearance of Danvers's name on the *Fourth Paper*, Thurloe (*State Papers*, iv: 629) records that there "hath beene the last weeke a meetinge of many of the Anabaptist churches in severall parts of the nation, whither resorted all the discontented of that partie and of the fift monarchy men, with a full intention to have engaged the churches in blood . . . Col. Danvers is one, who would faine be in armes, and was at one of these meetinges to incite others to the same thinge." After the Restoration he appears to have suffered considerably on account of his non-conformity. In 1684, he published a seditious paper concerning the death of the Duke of Essex, and the government offered a large reward for his apprehension. He escaped to Holland and died in Utrecht at the close of 1687. (There are sketches of Danvers in Crosby, *English Baptists*, iii: 90; Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, i: 393; and *Dict. National Biography*, xiv: 39).

Christopher Goad

Christopher Goad was an anabaptist of the Cromwellian period whose name is little known except as it appears on the title-pages of certain religious tracts. Besides contributing a letter to the *Fourth Paper*, he wrote in 1652 a preface to William Dell's *Several Sermons and Discourses*, and in 1653 issued a book entitled *Refreshing drops and scorching vials, severally distributed to their proper subjects, according to the wisdom given . . . Mr. C. G. etc.* Edited by J. Sprigg; with a preface by C. Worsley (*Brit. Museum Catalogue*). In a new edition of this latter tract, published in 1827, Christopher Goad is mentioned as a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge (Allibone, *Dict. of Authors*). This may give a clue to his parentage, since Roger Goad, Provost of King's College, had a son Christopher who was elected from Eton to King's College (*Dict. National Biography*, xxii: 20). The Journals of Parliament show that, according to the royal sequestrations of October 18, 1643, the church of Pancras in Soper Lane, London, was sequestered from George Ecope to a Christopher Goad; also that, on December 27, 1646, a Mr. Goad was included among the Puritan nominations to Broughton, Oxford (Shaw, *English Church*, ii: 317, 335).

The Hireling Ministry

Page 13, marginal note

The *Hireling Ministry* was a thirty-six page pamphlet published by Roger Williams in April, 1652, with the full title of *The Hireling Ministry none of Christ's, Or, A Discourse touching the Propagating the Gospel of Christ Jesus. Humbly Presented to such Pious and Honourable Hands, whom the present Debate thereof concerns.* It is evident that Williams, in referring to this tract in the marginal note, had in mind his manuscript, which was probably then in the printer's hands. The *Fourth Paper* was published on March 30; the *Hireling Ministry* some time during the following month.

This tract was reprinted in Cyrus P. Grosvenor's *A review of the correspondence of Messrs. Fuller and Wayland on the subject of American Slavery*, Utica, 1847.

The Bloody Tenent Controversy

Page 14, marginal note

The "Controversie of the Bloody Tenent" began in 1644, when Williams published in London a book bearing the title: *The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution for Cause of Conscience discussed in a Conference betweene Truth and Peace*. In this treatise he made an urgent plea for toleration and especially attacked the religious views of John Cotton as they had been expressed in print several years before. Cotton replied in 1647 with a book entitled *The Bloudy Tenent washed and made white in the bloud of the Lambe*. In April, 1652, soon after the publication of his *Fourth Paper*, Williams again entered the controversy with *The Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody by Mr. Cotton's endeavour to wash it white in the Blood of the Lambe*. In a letter to Mrs. Sadlier in 1652 he remarks: "Since I landed, I have published two or three things, and have a large discourse at the press, but 'tis controversial" (*Narragansett Club Publications*, vi: 238). The former refer to his *Fourth Paper*, *Hireling Ministry* and *Experiments of a Spiritual Life*, and the latter to his *Bloody Tenent*. The Bloody Tenent tracts were reprinted in 1867-70 in the *Narragansett Club Publications*, vol. iii. and iv.

*Henry VIII. as Head of the Church**Page 15, line 31*

The Act of Supremacy of 1534 ordered that the King "shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme Head in earth of the Church of England" (26 Henry VIII., ch. i.).

*Persecution of the Jews**Page 18, line 10*

Until the middle of the twelfth century, the Jews in England enjoyed a considerable amount of security and were apparently but little disturbed in the possession of their property. But their growing wealth and differences in religion alike excited the jealousy and hatred of the English people, and during the reign of Henry II. and his immediate successors they suffered persecution, confiscation of property, imprisonment and often death. In the year 1290 Edward I. issued an edict expelling them from the realm. About 16,000 were thus banished from England and their property seized by the crown.

From the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries the Jews seem to have been present in England in

but very small numbers and it was not until the time of the Commonwealth that they sought any revocation of Edward's edict. The growing spirit of toleration had somewhat mitigated the feeling of hatred toward them and they thought thus to procure their own legal re-establishment. In 1649 some Amsterdam Jews petitioned, through the Council of War, for the repeal of the Act of Banishment and for permission to trade with England (Walker, *Hist. of Independence*, pt. ii: pp. 60, 61, 83; *Clarke Papers*, ii: 172). Although this petition met with no response from Parliament, by the time that Roger Williams appeared in England in 1652, a more friendly feeling toward them had developed. Williams himself had often expressed his disapprobation of persecution of this race. It was the Jews whom he included, in his well-known parable of the ship, among the number to whom the most absolute religious toleration should be granted; and in his *Bloody Tenent* he remarked that Jews "may be clear and free from scandalous offences in their life, as also from disobedience to the Civil Laws of a State" (*Narragansett Club Publications*, iii: 171; vi: 279).

At almost the same time as the appearance of Williams's tract, Captain Robert Norwood made a strong plea in behalf of the Jews in his *Proposall for*

Propagation of the Gospel offered to the Parliament, published on March 20, 1652 (*Brit. Museum Catalogue*; Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, ii: 31). In spite of this agitation in their favor and of the later labors of the learned and zealous Manasseh Ben Israel in 1655, the natural prejudice against them was of such long standing that it could not admit of the startling innovation of the re-establishment of this race in England. The divines and especially the London merchants, who feared competition in trade, remained hostile to them and opposed every effort to restore their rights.

Upon the death of Cromwell, who had steadily shown them favor, their hopes for a revocation of banishment were crushed. Yet they had made one gain as a result of their struggle. At one of the sittings, the Judges had declared that there was no law in force preventing the return of any Jew to England. Henceforth their right of residence was unquestioned, even if their religion was an object of suspicion and attack.

(For accounts of the Jews during the Cromwellian period see Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, ii: 30; iii: 216-224; Inderwick, *Interregnum*, p. 144; Milman, *Hist. of the Jews*, iii: 363; and Lucien Wolf's *Resettlement of the*

Jews in England, Cromwell's Jewish Intelligencer, Crypto Jews under the Commonwealth, and Manasseh Ben Israel's Mission to Cromwell. For a bibliography of the subject see Jacobs and Wolf, *Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica*, pp. 46-55).

Date of Ministers' Petition

Page 20, line 2

Although Roger Williams dates the Petition of the Ministers to Parliament on February 11 [1652], the records of the House of Commons (*Commons Journals*, vii: 86) show that it must have been presented on February 10. The proceedings of the House for February 11 are given in full and refer in no way to this Petition.

*Judicial Astrology**Page 23, line 14*

Judicial astrology, or the study of the influence of the constellations on the destinies of man, was so called to distinguish it from natural astrology, which predicted the motions of the heavenly bodies. During the early part of the year 1652, a great eclipse of the sun, which was to occur on March 29, brought the astrologers with their dire predictions into special notice. Evelyn records in his Diary that on this day "was that celebrated eclipse of the sun so much threatened by the astrologers, and which had so exceedingly alarm'd the whole nation that hardly anyone would worke, nor stir out of their houses. So ridiculously were they abused by knavish and ignorant star-gazers" (Bray, *Memoirs of Evelyn*, i: 258). The Council of State, on April 1, 1652, published a paper reproving "that ungodly race of judicial astrologers" and explaining at length how unusual occurrences in the heavenly world proceeded only from natural causes (*Perfect Diurnal*, April 1, 1652; see also Inderwick, *Interregnum*, p. 132). Swift, probably more than any other, gave the deathblow to astrology by publishing his famous squib *Predictions for the Year 1708*, by Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq.

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